1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

ESSENTIAL STATISTICS

131 The Maltese Islands - Land Area 121.850 sq. miles, Population 323,667[1].
161 Malta - Land Area 94.876 sq. miles, Population 296,093[1].
Gozo and Comino - Land Area 26.974 sq. miles, Population 27,659[1].

162 A. OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE POPULATION[2]

(i)	Civil Government	17,050
463	Service Departments	22,480
(ii)	Agriculture, Fishing and Quarrying	9,130
	Manufacturing	9,030
	Construction	7,220
(iii)	Wholesale and Retail Trades	10,920
	Transport and Communications	3,850
	Insurance, Banking, etc.	550
	Gas Service	90
(iv)	Recreation and Personal Services	7,250
	Community and Business Services	1,140
	Total	88,710

433 B. PRODUCTION[1]

Gross Domestic Product 1957	£ m.	36.1
Gross Industrial Production 1957	"	10.036
Gross Agricultural Product 1957	"	5.008

439 C. TRADE[3]

(i) Commodities (value in £ m)

	Imports	Exports	Re-exports
Food, Drink, Tobacco	9.411	.547	.549
Raw materials and materials mainly unmanufactured	3.227	.312	1.307
Articles wholly or mainly manufactured	13.215	.132	.404
Miscellaneous and unspecified	2.862	.005	.339
Bullion and Specie	.104	-	-
	28.820	.995	2.600

(ii) Direction of Trade (%)

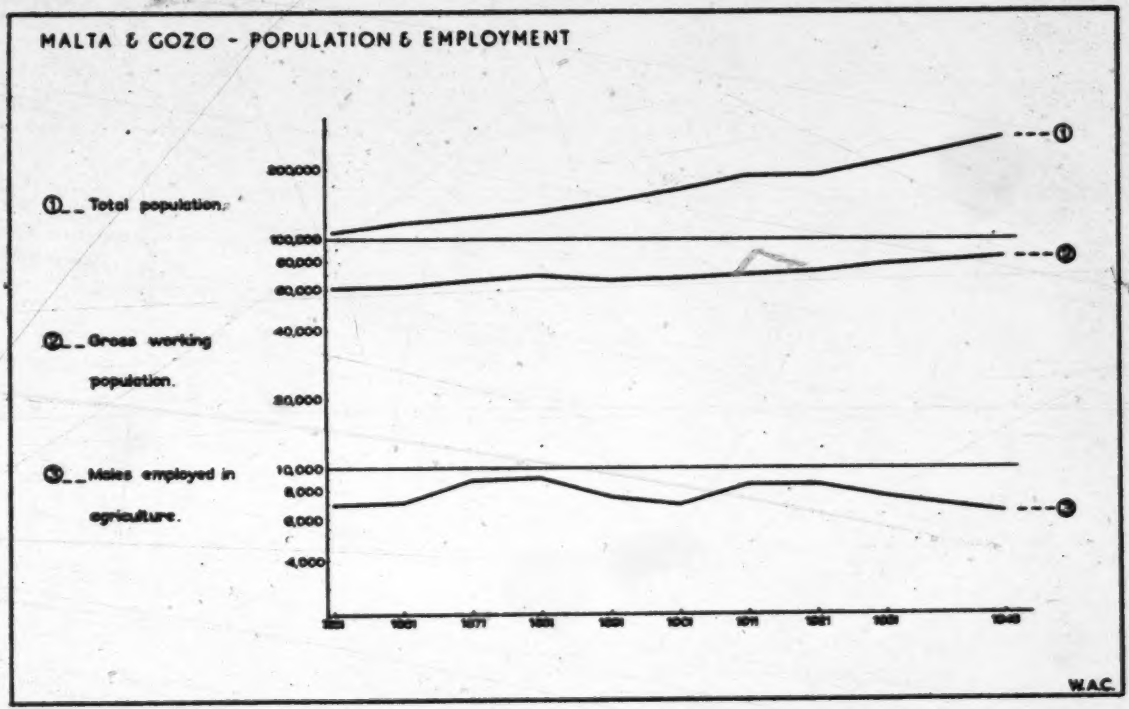
	Imports	Exports
Sterling Area	49.3	41.1
Dollar Area	7.2	.8
O. E. E. C.	33.5	10.4
Other	10.0	2.1
Ships and Aircraft Stores	-	45.6
	100	100

(iii) Balance of Trade

	Imports	Exports & Re-exports	Negative Balance
		Million £	
1949	15.312	1.038	14.274
1954	20.407	2.879	17.528
1958	28.820	3.595	25.225

(Since 1948 the adverse trade balance has increased by an average of 4.7% per annum)

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961 EZ8 Malta EZ8



[p. 118-B]

Fig. 31 Malta and Gozo, Population and Employment.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

*175 43 revenue deficits. In 1878 a report by Rowsell on the fiscal situation in Malta is particularly indicative of buoyant conditions, but also indicated the smallness of revenue reserves (14).

The superficially favourable Internal Revenue situation and the fall in unemployment and migration, particularly after 1870, were however paralleled by a growing unbalance in the National Product. Once again there occurred a fortuitous coincidence of favourable external circumstances. The Suez Canal was opened in 1869 and fleets of small steamships plying the new route to the Indian Ocean needed frequent bunkering. The Mediterranean littoral itself became the scene of increased economic activity. The same industrial surge in northern Europe, and in Britain in particular, which built the ships and the Canal, needed foodstuffs and raw materials and provided the capital and equipment for their production. Not only from the Mediterranean littoral, Australia and the Orient, but also from the Russian and Danubian Black Sea ports came the ships which converged on the Malta Straits. Many regions suffered from the downward movement of commodity prices which occurred after 1873. Malta was little affected by commodity price-changes in that her commercial activity was strictly concerned with services, and the Islands reaped the benefit of increased volume of traffic. By 1882, 80 per cent. of the recorded tonnage using the harbours dealt with extra-Mediterranean traffic. The same year witnessed the nineteenth century peak of British steel exports, the Black Sea grain trade was still building up and bunkering business in Malta reached its height. During the 1880's Britain was in virtual control of maritime affairs and the complicated pattern of a relevant part of tramp movement may be summarised thus (15):-

> '... steamers go a round voyage, part of which is in ballast, taking coal, say, to the Mediterranean and then grain from the Black Sea to Hamburg and home... The course of the export trade in coal is influenced in some degree by the return freight... modified by favourable harvests or otherwise in different parts of the world, and the consequent varying sources of our food supplies'.

*175 43 505 In this statement may be found an explanation both of the reason for Malta's Golden Era between 1870 and 1890 and for its impermanence. Before 1890 events conspired to produce commercial opportunity. After 1890 Europe turned more and more to the New World for grain and the volume of Black Sea trade slowly declined. Those ships still in the trade together with those using the through Mediterranean routes grew larger and more power-efficient and therefore less in need of frequent bunkering stops. Competition from other ports increased as the Mediterranean political pattern became simplified by effective French control of much of North Africa, by the enforcement of stability on Egypt and by Italian unification. The sheer momentum of nineteenth century economic progress carried centres such as Algiers, Naples, Alexandria and Barcelona, all with developing hinterlands and facilities, out of the class of ports pure and simple. By 1895 shipping activity in Malta had dropped back to the level of 1880 and thenceforward it developed at a slower rate than did world trade as a whole. The Maltese were once more sharply reminded that the possession of a good natural harbour was not enough in itself permanently to attract commercial interest.

Since detailed statistics of trade, other than that in dutiable goods, were not recorded before 1910 it is difficult to measure directly the real significance of port activity and trade either during the boom or in more normal conditions. The Blue Books are of some analytical aid, and that for 1891 suggests that the total value of what are termed re-exports was £35,000,000 of which only 3 per cent. by value were actually landed in Malta, the remainder proceeding to their ultimate destinations in the same bottoms. For further information we must turn to an analysis of the other elements in the National Product.

*175 43 464 161 The most useful records at our disposal are the Census recordings of occupations although even here there are considerable deficiencies. The gross working population (unemployment figures are not available before 1921) shows trends which conform to those of net population increase (Fig. 31) but particularly noteworthy is the numerical loss due to a decline in the female working group.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

Chapter VI

MODERN MALTA

A Population and Migration

It is common knowledge that the Maltese Islands now possess a population which is extremely large relative to the territorial area. Polemical discussion of the implications of the situation has generally been based on two assumptions. The first is that the present size of the population is wholly a consequence of a simple vital revolution which occurred during British rule in the nineteenth century. The second assumption is that this vital revolution is almost over and that falling birthrates will stabilise the population at a new and higher level. These assumptions are erroneous. The brief study that follows (based on a full-scale investigation of many types of source material by M. Richardson and others), attempts to show the true characteristics of Maltese demography.

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THE POPULATION BEFORE 1842

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Table 24. Estimates of population A.D. 991 to 1842.

	I. MALTESE		II. NON-MALTESE		III. TOTAL
	Malta	Gozo	The Knights	Other	
(1) 991					21,000
(2) 1240	3,800	1,800			5,600
(3) 1400					10,000
(4) 1528	12,000	5,000			17,000
(5) 1530	15,000	5,000	5,000		25,000
(6) 1565	19,500	2,500	9,000		31,000
	17,500	2,500	3,000		23,000
(7) 1582	20,000				
(8) 1590	28,864		3,426		32,290
(9) 1632	45,450	3,000	4,450		52,900
(10) 1741					110,000
(11) 1760	66,800				
(12) 1798	90,000	24,000			114,000
(13) 1807	80,225	12,829		22,100	115,154
(14) 1813	86,403	14,400			110,803
(15) 1823					112,204
(16) 1826	98,618	15,618		1,709	115,945
(17) 1837	98,958	16,522		4,398	119,878
(18) 1842	97,535	14,330		1,999	113,864

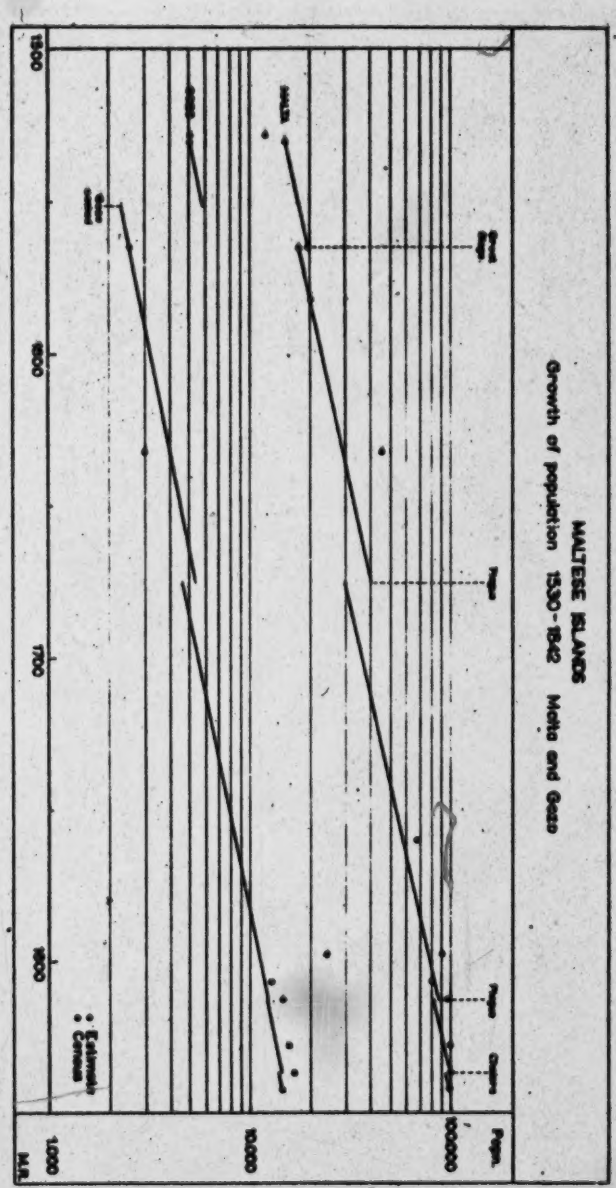

Fig. 34 Maltese Islands: Growth of Population 1530-1842.

[p. 134-A]

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1:Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
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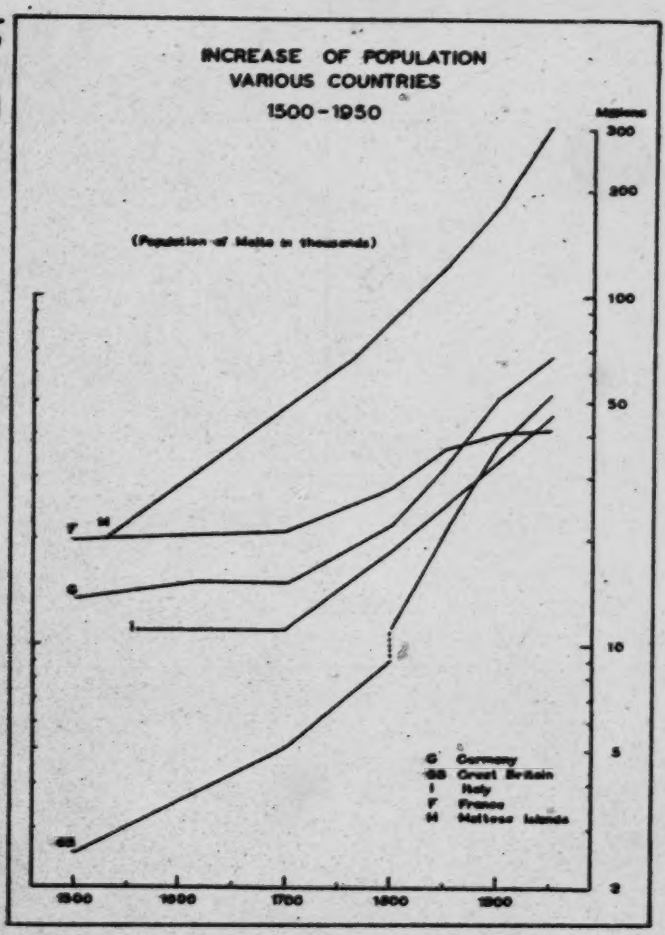

Fig. 35 Increase of Population, Various Countries, 1500-1950.

[p. 134-B]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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The earliest recorded estimate of the population of the Maltese Islands is one of 21,000, made by the Emir Yusuf al Futah in A.D. 991 (1), but this would appear to be excessive in the light of Abate Giliberto's report (2) of approximately 1,000 families in 1240 and Bosio's suggestion (3) that total numbers in A.D. 1400 did not exceed 10,000. The Commissioners to the Knights (4) estimated a total population of about 17,000 in 1528 to whom were added, shortly afterwards, members of the Order and their followers, some 5,000 in all. That the population of the Islands in 1530 was in the region of 20,000 may be assumed from data given by a number of writers including Frs Joannus Quintinus, Bosio and Boisgelin (5).

The first half of the sixteenth century appears to have been a period of steady population increase in Malta, but Gozo suffered a severe setback in the Turkish raid of 1551 when large numbers were taken away as slaves. At the time of the Great Siege of 1565, members of the Order numbered 9,000 and the civilian population was in the region of 22,000 (6), a total of 31,000 of whom perhaps 5,000 lived in Gozo. Fatal casualties sustained by the Maltese during the Siege numbered 8,000 according to Zabarella, and Bosio puts the civilian population after the Siege at 20,000. A similar total was reported for the civilian population of Malta alone, excluding the Knights and their followers, by Grand Inquisitor Visconti in 1582 (7). In 1590 an enumeration was made for the Viceroy of Sicily (8). A detailed enumeration was made for Grand Master de Pawla in 1632 and is recorded by Abela (9). The members of the Order numbered 4,450 while the 'native' populations of Malta and Gozo were said to be 45,450 and 3,000 respectively, a grand total of 52,900.

Information is fragmentary for the period 1632-1807, although an estimate of 110,000 was made in 1741 (10) conflicting with Ciantar's figure (11) of 66,800 for Malta only, excluding members of the Order, in the year 1760. The former total is obviously much exaggerated. Boisgelin's total (12) of 114,000 in 1798 is equally unreliable as is shown by its estimate of 24,000 for Gozo, when that island is known to have had only 14,000 inhabitants in 1842 (18) and there is no evidence of large-scale migration from Gozo in the intervening period.

The first detailed enumeration after the withdrawal of the French was recorded in an almanac of 1807 (13) and was based on Parish registers. This shows a 'native Catholic' population of 93,000 and a total of 22,100 'other inhabitants and domesticated strangers'. The 'census' of 1828 (16) gives a total which differs by a few hundreds only from that of 1807, and although the outbreak of plague in 1813 would in part account for the lack of population growth during the period, there can be little doubt that the 1828 enumeration had considerable deficiencies. That of 1837 (17) had similar defects. Over-estimation seems to have been a common feature of counts made in the early nineteenth century, since the first official census (18) of 1842, recorded a total population of only 113,884.

There is not sufficient material for any valid conclusions to be reached concerning the rate of population growth in the Maltese Islands before 1530, but the various estimates made between 1530 and 1842 permit an assessment of trends over the three centuries preceding the first official census. In Fig. 34 these estimates have been plotted on a semi-logarithmic scale and the trend of early nineteenth century population growth back-projected to 1530. Assuming a steady rate of increase, all the sixteenth century estimates, together with those of the nineteenth century are close to the totals arrived at by interpolation, but, in the intervening period, the figures given by Abela and Boisgelin appear grossly inaccurate. Abela's estimate for 1632 seems likely to have been at least 15,000 too great, his postulated increase of 100 per cent. or more over the figure for 1582 being an obvious impossibility. Boisgelin's total of 114,000 in 1798, includes a definite over-estimate of at least 10,000 in the case of Gozo and a probable exaggeration of 10,000 for Malta. Interpolation suggests a figure of 90,000 for the native population of the Islands in that year.

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It is noteworthy that, between 1530 and 1798, the period during which the Knights of St. John were in control of the Maltese Islands, the population of Malta and Gozo together increased by some 280 per cent. from 23,000 to 90,000 while

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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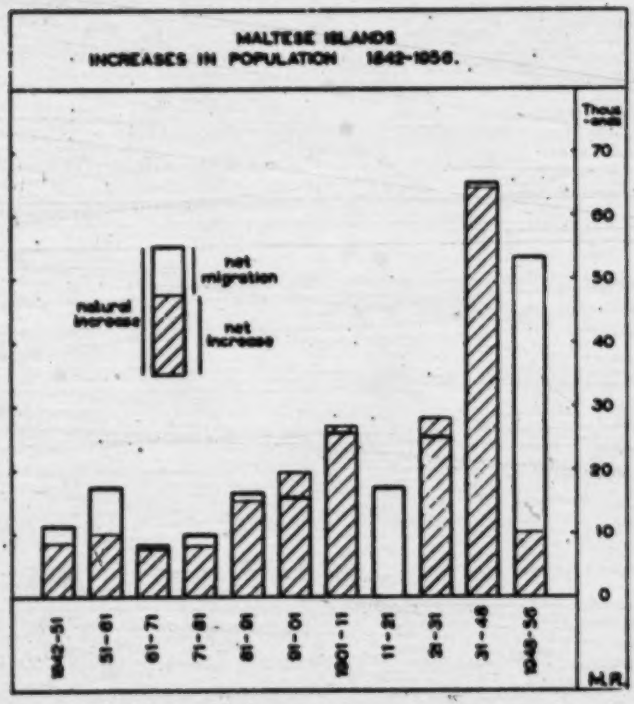

Fig. 37 Maltese Islands: Increases in Population, 1842-1956.

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much of the rest of Europe had static or declining numbers until the eighteenth century (Fig. 35). The relative security and stability of Maltese life during this period is thus reflected in the population figures. Excessive pressure of numbers on resources was becoming apparent before the British era and emigration was suggested as early as the eighteenth century (19). That this particular problem has become intensified during the period of British sovereignty is a result of further acceleration in the rate of population increase which, as we shall see, has been a product of improvements in social and economic welfare.

Table 25. Increase of population 1830-1956

Average annual increase %

Period	Maltese Islands	Malta	Gozo
1830-1842	0.63	0.74	0.33
1842-1956	0.90	0.96	0.58

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

THE POPULATION AFTER 1842

Manuscripts of the unofficial census of 1828 are no longer extant and details of this enumeration are available only at second hand in Miège's '*Histoire de Malte*' published in 1840. The first regular Census of the Maltese Islands was taken in 1842 and the second in 1851, to be followed by decennial censuses until 1931. The war prevented any enumeration in 1941, and the eleventh Census took place in 1948.

Widespread illiteracy and the absence of penalties for non-compliance were obvious hindrances to accurate census-taking in nineteenth-century Malta. Thus the coverage of earlier censuses is unlikely to have been complete. The information asked for (30) has also been an extremely variable quantity (Table 28).

Table 28. Subjects covered in the censuses from 1861 to 1948.

Subject	Number of tables on each subject								
	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1948
Total Population			1	3	3	3	3	3	
Non-civilian Element			1	6	4	8	4		
Civilian Population									
Distribution and Increase	2	2	2	3	3	2	3	3	4
Ages	2	2	2	9	9	11	9	10	4
Marital Status	2	2	2	8	8	6	6	7	7
Occupations	2	2	2	5	5	4	4	4	33
Birthplace and Residence	2	2	7	10	10	9	9	10	11
Religion			2	2	2	1	1	1	
Housing of Families. Dwellings	2		2	5	4	4	4	5	16
Health and Vital Statistics	8	2	2	4	4	5	5	2	2
Asylums and Penal Institutions	1		6	4	4	4	4	3	
Maltese Abroad			1	1	1	1	1	1	
Miscellaneous	6[a]			10[b]	14[b]				16[c]
TOTAL Number of Tables[d]	19	4	30	80	83	67	61	63	98

a. Including four tables on the Judicial Courts.
b. All on Agriculture.
c. Including ten summary tables of all aspects.
d. This may not be the same as the total of the tables on each subject, since some tables cover more than one subject but have only been included under one heading.

The number of subjects dealt with has progressively increased, but few of the tabulations are strictly comparable for all censuses. In the nine censuses taken between 1881 and 1948, it is remarkable that not one tabulation has been preserved unchanged over the whole period. Apart from these variations in the scope of the census, there have been frequent changes in the number and grouping of the territorial units under which the figures are given (Fig. 38).

When considering population trends in the Maltese Islands, a good deal of confusion is also occasioned by the presence of a considerable non-Maltese element which produces fluctuations and changes in the pattern of population growth which are not characteristic of the Maltese people. This must always be borne in mind when considering the Census Reports which do not always make clear the distinction between the two groups.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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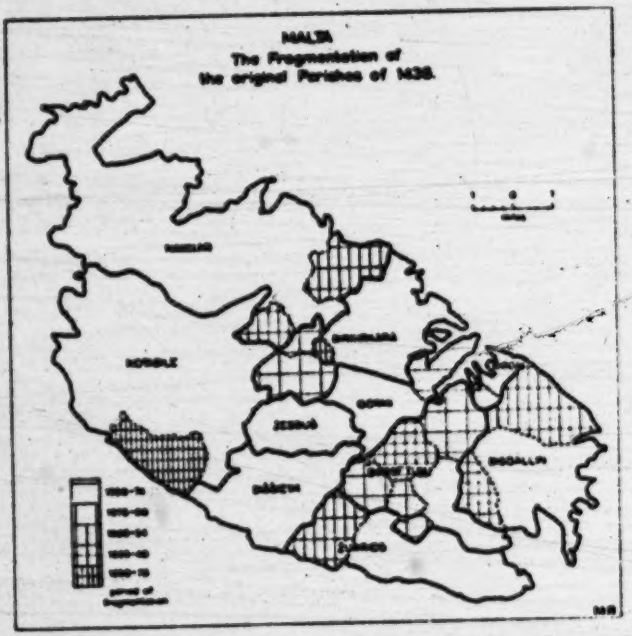

Fig. 38 The Fragmentation of the Original Parishes of 1436.

As early as 1836, a member of a Royal Commission was able to say that 'the real grievance of the Maltese lies beyond the reach of Commissioners and Governments, namely the excessive population'. At this date, as we have already seen, a steady increase of population had been maintained for some 300 years. During the nineteenth century, advances in medicine and sanitation together with increasing economic prosperity were reflected in a falling death rate and an accelerating natural increase. Thus between 1842 and 1956, numbers nearly trebled, rising from 114,000 to 316,000 and the overall density increased from 935 to 2,511 per square mile. While the rate of growth has in most European countries declined during the present century, that of Malta has remained at or above the levels of the nineteenth century. Only in the last few years has the Maltese crude birth rate begun to decline and only in the post-war period has emigration been on a large enough scale to act as a check on numerical growth. As will appear, neither of these simple facts gives any ground for optimism.

Fig. 37 shows the absolute growth of population in the Islands. In Malta, the rate of increase has been cumulatively high although during three past periods, first between 1861 and 1881, and later during the two World Wars, it declined to relatively low levels. Since 1948 the rate of growth has been consistently low and occasionally changed into absolute decrease. In Gozo, total increase has been smaller and fluctuations both larger and differently timed. Between 1861 and 1871 population increased remarkably rapidly, while between 1911 and 1921 there was an absolute decrease. Since 1948 trends have conformed with those of Malta.

Such absolute figures need consideration from several aspects. The economic background has already been considered. Details of distribution and structure of the population must now be examined.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

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Malta

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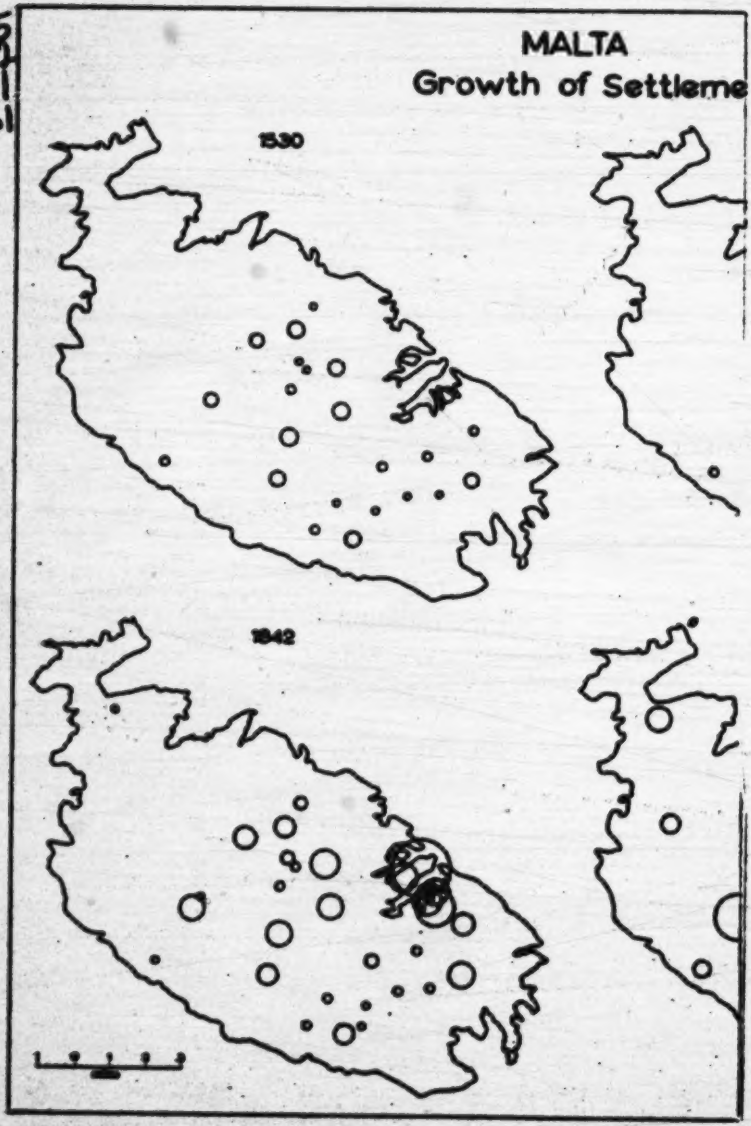

[p 139-A]

Fig. 39 Malta: Growth of Settlements

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

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Malta

[139-B]

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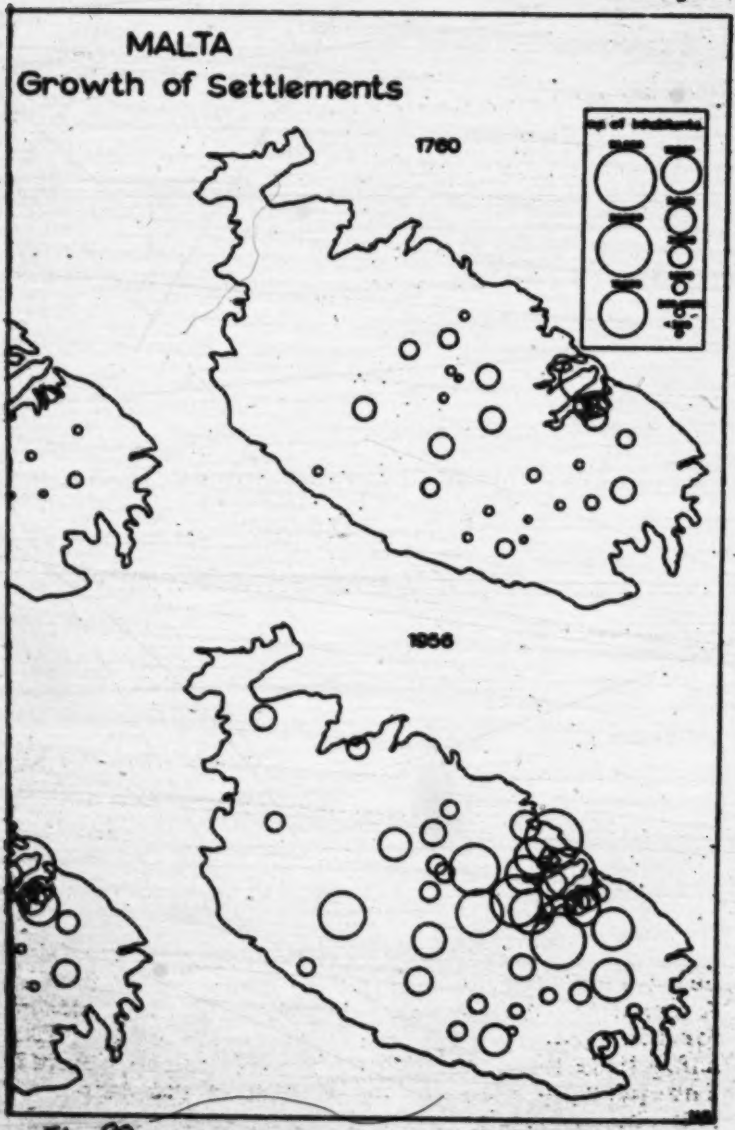

Fig. 39
Malta: Growth of Settlements.

[p. 139-B]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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POPULATION DISTRIBUTION

The main changes in population distribution may be easily established.

Before the arrival of the Knights, the population of the Islands was clustered in small inland villages while in the centre of each island was a fortified town where refuge could be sought in time of trouble. At the same time each island had its port. Thus, in Malta, Birgu (later renamed Vittoriosa) was the commercial centre while Mdina was the ecclesiastical and administrative capital. In 1436, there were 11 parishes in all: by the late seventeenth century the number had risen to 26 (Fig. 38). The establishment of these new parishes was largely confined to the central and southern parts of the Island; the north remained but sparsely peopled.

Under the Knights growth of population around the Grand Harbour and the vulnerability of Birgu to attack, as demonstrated in the Great Siege, led to the building of Bormla (Kospikwa) and Isla (Senglea) together with the new capital of Valletta on the previously barren Xibberas peninsula. The population of this city complex reached its high water mark in the early part of the nineteenth

[p. 139-C]
[TEST CONTINUES ON P. 140-C]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

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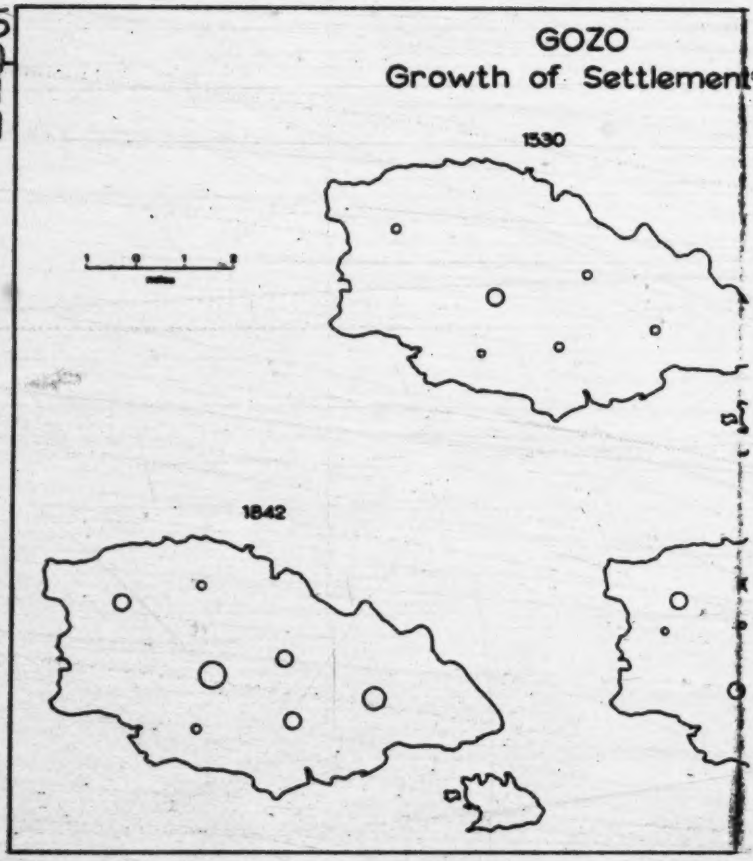

Fig. 40 Gozo: Growth of Settlements

[p.140-A]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

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Gozo

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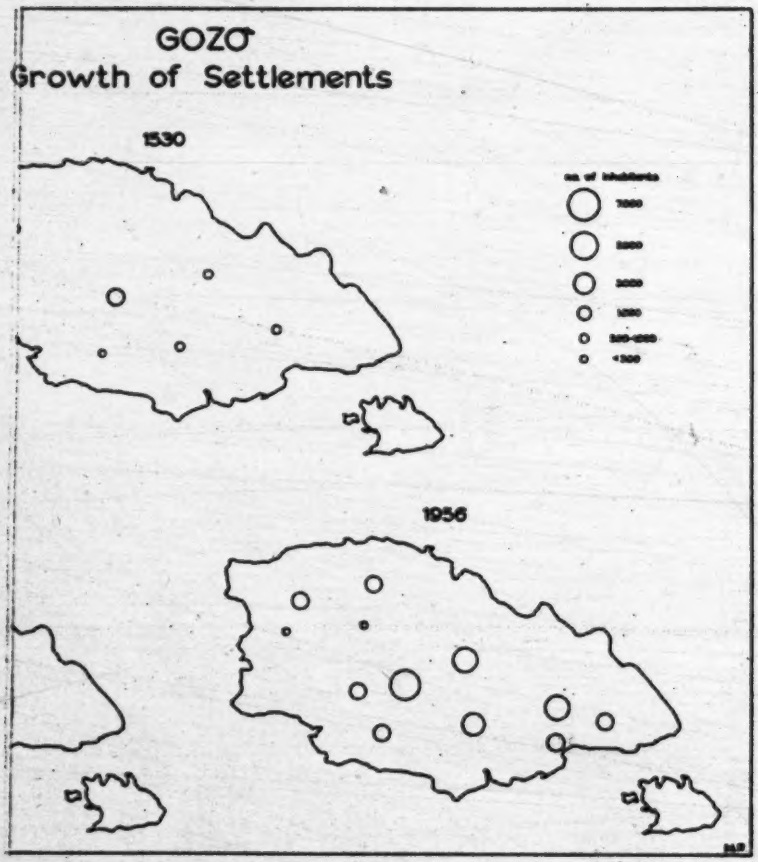

Fig. 40 Gozo: Growth of Settlements.

[p. 140 -B]

*175 century, since when the numbers living therein have declined appreciably.
●161 A parallel development has been the spread of 'fringe' settlements outside the
361 fortifications accompanied by a transfer of population from the cities. At the same time there has been a persistent movement inwards from rural districts. The present century has also seen the establishment and growth of coastal settlement, notably around Marsaxlokk Bay, and the expansion of such northern villages as Mellieha, St. Paul's Bay and Mgarr, previously of little importance (Fig. 39).

Changes in the distribution of population and the development of new settlements have also occurred in Gozo where the hill top villages have grown ever-larger and where such places as Ghasri, San Lawrenz and Kercem have become sufficiently important to warrant the establishment of new parishes. In contrast to Malta, however, the ancient citadel of Gozo with its suburbs in Rabat (Victoria) remains the capital and there has been no movement of the economic centre of gravity towards the coast (Fig. 40).

The difference between the rates of increase of the populations of Malta and Gozo, the former trebling between 1842 and 1956, the latter not quite doubling, is one indicator of the growing socio-economic differences between the two islands. A more useful distinction appears from a study of the functional and demographic characteristics of regional groups of settlement. By the mid-nineteenth century onward a conurbation with true urban functions had developed around the Grand Harbour, while to the west around Marsamxett and beyond, and on the southern and eastern city fringes were appearing suburban settlements in which non-rural residential development overwhelmed old village

[p.140-C]
[TEXT CONTINUES ON P.144]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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Key to Abbreviations used in Figs. 41 - 45

Fig. 41

M	=	Malta
U	=	Urban
S	=	Suburban
R	=	Rural
G	=	Gozo

Fig. 42

Va	=	Valletta
C	=	Cospicua
F	=	Floriana
S	=	Senglea
V	=	Vittoriosa

Fig. 43

Bk	=	Birkirkara
Gz	=	Gżira
H	=	Hamrun
Ka	=	Kalkara
M	=	Marsa
Ms	=	Msida
Pa	=	Pawla
Pt	=	Pieta
Q	=	Qormi
SV	=	Santa Vennera
SJ	=	Saint Julian's
Sl	=	Sliema
T	=	Tarxien
Za	=	Żabbar

Fig. 44(a)

D	=	Dingli
Gg	=	Għargħur
Md	=	Mdina
Me	=	Mellieħa
Mg	=	Mġarr
Mo	=	Mosta
N	=	Naxxar
Rb	=	Rabat
SP	=	Saint Paul's Bay
Sg	=	Siggiewi
Zb	=	Żebbuġ

Fig. 44(b)

A	=	Attard
Ba	=	Balzan
Bb	=	Birżebbuġa
Gd	=	Gudja
Gx	=	Għaxaq
Kk	=	Kirkop
L	=	Lija
Lq	=	Luqa
Mq	=	Mqabba
Mx	=	Marsaxlokk
Qr	=	Qrendi
Sa	=	Safi
Zt	=	Żejtun
Zq	=	Żurrieq

Fig. 45

Gb	=	Għarb
GM	=	Għajnsielem and Mġarr
Gs	=	Għasri
Kc	=	Kercem
Nd	=	Nadur
Ql	=	Qala
Rb	=	Rabat
SM	=	Sannat and Munxar
SL	=	Santa Lucija
X	=	Xagħra
Xk	=	Xewkija
Zg	=	Żebbuġ

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
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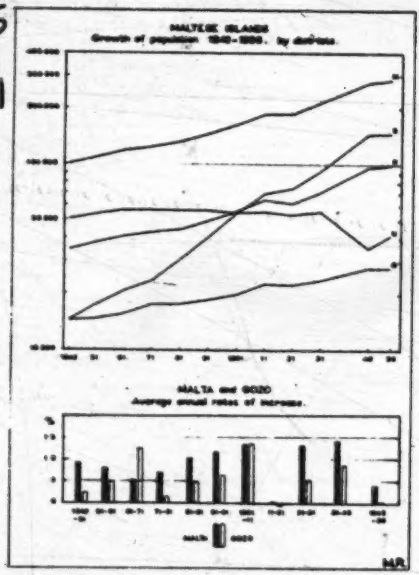

Fig. 41 Maltese Islands: Growth of Population, 1842-1956, by Districts.

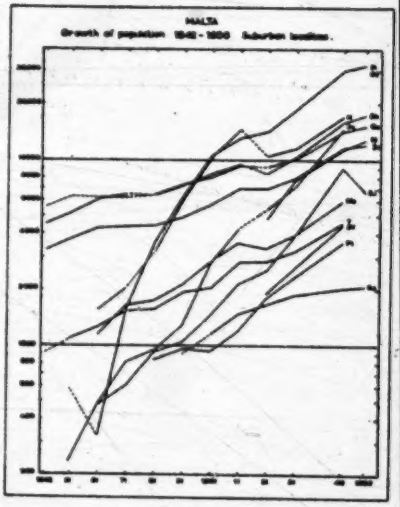

Fig. 43 Malta: Growth of Population 1842-1956, Suburban Localities.

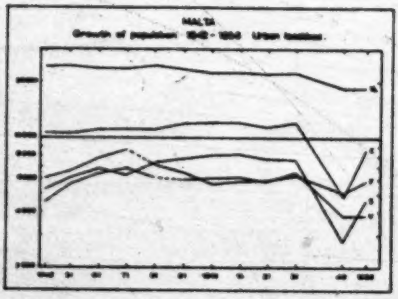

Fig. 42 Malta: Growth of Population 1842-1956, Urban Localities.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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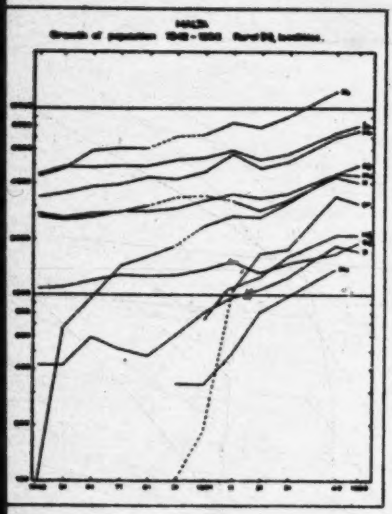

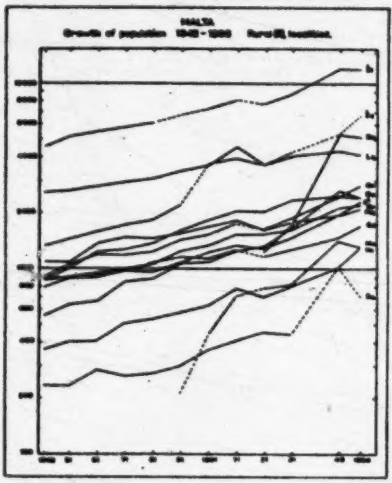

Fig. 44a Malta: Growth of Population 1842-1956, Rural (N) Localities.

Fig. 44b Malta: Growth of Population 1842-1956, Rural (S) Localities.

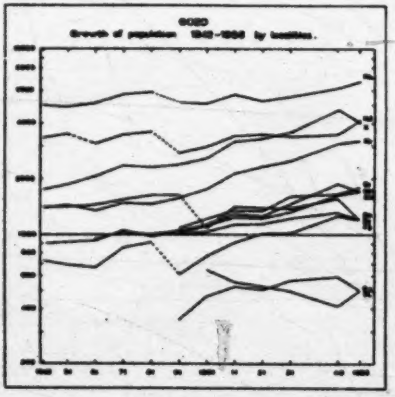

Fig. 45 Gozo: Growth of Population 1842-1956, by Districts.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

*175 ●161 361 nuclei. Table 27 below shows how in numerical terms the regional population balance changed. It will be observed that the proportion of people living in the diminishing rural area remained remarkably constant, although as already noted in Chapter V, a growing number of these were not farmworkers. Equally noteworthy is the decline in residential importance of the urban nucleus compared with the rise of the suburbs, producing a complete proportional reversal between 1842 and 1956 (Fig. 41).

Table 27. Percentage distribution of population, Island of Malta.

	1842	1861	1881	1901	1921	1948	1956
Urban Districts	50.6	48.0	43.3	33.2	28.2	12.6	14.5
Suburban Districts	14.5	17.4	23.1	33.1	39.2	52.6	50.9
Rural Districts	34.9	34.6	33.6	33.7	32.6	34.8	34.6

Within this main pattern of distributional change, other small-scale but significant trends may be discerned. Among the urban areas (Fig. 42), Valletta's population was decreasing as early as 1842-51, but in other districts the decline did not set in until after 1871, while Senglea and Kospikwa continued to grow, albeit slowly, until 1911. During the Second World War, decline in numbers was most marked in the Three Cities while the population of Floriana actually increased. Since 1948, there has been a reversal of these trends, the populations of Senglea and Kospikwa growing more rapidly than that of Floriana, while Valletta and Vittoriosa showed little or no increase.

The most noteworthy distinction among suburban localities has been the differences between the older and newer centres (Fig. 43). Birkirkara, Qormi, Żabbar and Tarxien have all shown a slower rate of growth than the other nine localities, although in the case of Tarxien, now contiguous with the newer settlement of Pawla, increase has been quite rapid. The growth of Pawla, Hamrun, Sliema and St. Julian's has been the most striking feature of the period since the first Census. In 1842, these hamlets had less than 1,000 inhabitants while in 1956, they were the home of some 70,000 people, half the suburban population and one-quarter of that of the whole of Malta. The stagnation of Kalkara further illustrates the fact that second-stage suburban growth has been concentrated around and beyond Marsamxett Harbour rather than near the commercial and naval Grand Harbour.

Among rural areas too (Fig. 44) growth has been most rapid in the newer and largely non-agricultural settlements such as Marsaxlokk, Birżebbuga and St. Paul's Bay. A few villages, including Żurrieq, Kirkop and Mosta, showed rapid gains between 1901 and 1911 but lost a great deal of ground in the following decade when their rate of growth was much smaller than that of the newer settlements mentioned above.

In Gozo (Fig. 45), the largest villages have grown least in recent years while smaller ones, such as Żebbuġ, have gained more rapidly. However, unlike Malta, Gozo shows no great gains among the newer centres. San Lawrens, for example, was created a parish in 1901 but suffered a steady decline in population from that date until 1948.

*175 162 167 SEX AND AGE STRUCTURE OF THE POPULATION

From 1842 onward an excess of females over males has been characteristic of the population of the Islands (Fig. 46). Masculinity, as measured by the male: female ratio, has been consistently higher in Malta than in Gozo. All the evidence suggests that this is a result of the persistent character of male emigration from the smaller island, whether to Malta or further afield. Within Malta some characteristic trends are observable. The masculinity of the urban districts has closely followed, though at a lower level, that of Malta as a whole.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

16 This table summarises the data illustrated graphically in Figs. 52 and 53, and shows that 70 per cent. of Maltese women eventually have four or more children and 25.9 per cent. have at least ten.

The survival rate is discussed later (p. 153) but the 1948 Census does show the proportion of children born who were still living at the time of the Census and adds a further perspective to the statement of actual family size. Deaths reduce the mean number of children per married woman from 4.8 to 3.2. Effective family size has in the past been reduced mainly by the extraordinarily high rate of infant mortality. In recent years this has been checked and larger families can be expected unless adjustments operate in the birth, marriage or fertility rates in the immediate future. Past trends in these rates, which contribute to the natural increase are considered in the following section.

ELEMENTS OF POPULATION GROWTH

●161 Since changes in population are a function of births, deaths and migration, the trends of each of these and their relative contributions to growth must be considered. In the 114 years between 1842 and 1956, there was a net increase [167] of just over 200,000. In the same period, nearly 70,000 people have been lost by migration and the natural increase has amounted to some 267,000.

[p. 151-B]

[i.e., Table 29, p. 149 -- Analyst]

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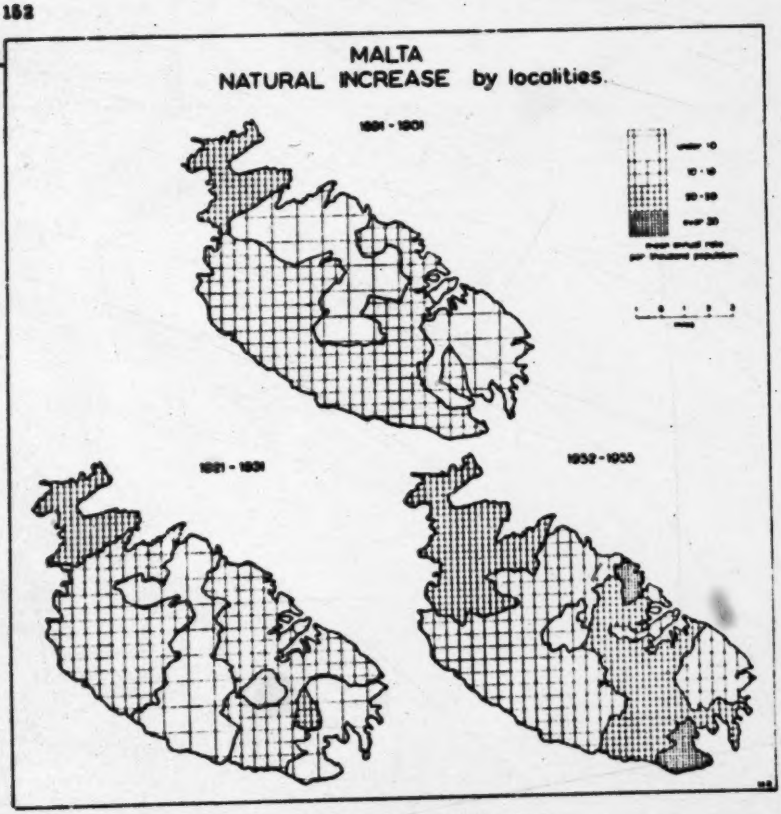

Fig. 55 - Natural Increase by locality.

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BIRTHS

The crude birth rate in the Islands has remained between 30 and 40 per thousand over almost the entire period since 1826. Only in the 1840's did it exceed 40 and since then it has remained well below that figure. In 1917 and again in the Second World War it fell below 30, but a permanent downward trend has only been established during the last decade, bringing the birth rate below 30 since 1952 (Fig. 54).

The overall trend has thus been one of decline. This began after the peak of the 1840's and continued until the 70's. There was a reversion to higher rates during the last two decades of the nineteenth century which was carried on until 1906, but the next four years brought unemployment and depression, foreshadowing the trough of the 1914-18 War. This was followed by a recovery to 38 per thousand, but the rate soon fell again to remain around 33 until the Second World War. A marked decline in the period 1940-43 was followed by a rise in 1944 to levels above anything experienced since the 1850's and these were maintained until 1948. Since then, decline has been rapid and sustained. With the sole

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

exception of 1942, there has been no recorded instance of a birth rate as low as 26.5, which was the figure for 1958. 163

In the late nineteenth century, Maltese birth rates were comparable with those of southern Europe, but subsequent decline has been much delayed in Malta. Economic progress in the Islands during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was accompanied by a rising rather than by a falling birth rate. The pattern of natality in Malta since 1911, however, conforms to trends experienced elsewhere in Europe, although the rates themselves have not been the same. The decline in the Maltese birth rate during the 1914-18 War was less marked than on the European mainland and there was an actual increase in Malta between 1919 and 1939, when other European rates declined. The post-war upsurge in births reached its peak early in Malta and while the birth rates of most European countries have been stable at a medium level over the last few years, that of Malta has been falling from the most recent peak. 163 171

DEATHS

The decline in mortality during the past few years has been even greater than that in births. Before the Second World War, the Maltese death rate had fallen below 20 on but three occasions and in 11 separate years it had exceeded 30. Since 1953 it has stayed consistently below 10, thus becoming directly comparable with the death rates of the most advanced Western European countries. 165 [171]

In the nineteenth century, the Maltese death rate was subject to violent annual fluctuations. The worst years were those of epidemic cholera, but even in the latter part of the century, when this was less common, the rate remained high. The main factors responsible were poverty, disease and unsanitary living conditions which were particularly reflected in high infant mortality. Improvements in drainage, sewerage and water supply were effective in reducing mortality from nearly 27/1,000 in the 1890's to 21 in the 1930's but much greater reductions were achieved once the problem of infant mortality was attacked. As recently as the 1920's, this was still as high as 250 per 1,000 live births and only in 1936 did it fall below 200. The decline in this rate was further delayed by the Second World War but by 1944 it had fallen to 114. Since then, progress has been rapid, and infant mortality in 1958 stood at 40 per 1,000 live births, a level comparable with those of many European countries.

Thus, in Malta, as in other European countries, the death rate has been reduced largely as a result of declining infant mortality and the reduction although late has been extremely rapid. A further decline is both possible and, on humanitarian grounds, desirable.

NATURAL INCREASE

Statistics of births, deaths, marriages and natural increase are illustrated in Figs. 54 and 55. In the years since 1948, the natural increase has reached its highest level because of a remarkable decline in the death rate. The absolute natural increase in the decade 1831-40 was 5,241 whereas in 1941-50, despite the low birth rate of the war years, the excess of births over deaths was 52,833. The current natural increase runs at about 5,000 a year, ten times that of a century ago. 161

The annual rate of natural increase in 1831-40 was less than 5 per 1,000; by the end of the century it had reached 10 and in 1941-50 it was 18, since when it has maintained the present rate of 19. The general upward trend has not been an even one as the graph shows, there being peaks in [illegible]-60, 1881-90, 1901-10 and 1941-50, of which the first and last were the highest. The former was a period of high birth rates, a moderate death rate and very early marriage; the latter was one of rapidly falling death rates and a post-war upsurge in births. The troughs in the curve were lowest in the early and mid-nineteenth centuries, corresponding to times of frequent sickness and epidemic, of which the late 1860's and early 1870's provide examples.

Annual fluctuations in natural increase reflect specific historical events. On six occasions, the number of deaths in a year has exceeded the number of births. In 1837, '47, '50 and '85, epidemic cholera was the cause. In 1874, a

[Text Continues on P. 155]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

variety of diseases, among which smallpox and cholera were important, assumed epidemic proportions after several years in which sickness had been prevalent. In 1942, war casualties, malnutrition and disease were responsible for an excess of deaths over births. 161

CONJUGAL CONDITION (Fig. 56)

The proportions of single, married and widowed persons has remained virtually the same since 1901. The great disparity between the numbers of married men and married women resident in the Islands, a feature of the inter-war period, reduced the number of effective marriages, but the discrepancy was considerably reduced by 1948, when there were 97 married men to every 100 married women, as against 92 in 1921 and 1931. 162

Comparison with other countries indicates that a smaller proportion of the Maltese people marry than is the case in, for example, Britain, Ireland or Australia but the age of marriage in Malta is much lower than in most other countries. Nearly 80 per cent. of the men who marry do so before they are 30 and, in 1955, 90 per cent. of brides were below that age. (In England and Wales the comparative figures are 74 per cent. and 81 per cent.) Furthermore, 26.2 per cent. of Maltese brides are less than 20 years of age. In Gozo, marriages are fewer, proportionally, than in Malta, and take place later: although there is a higher proportion of brides below 20, the proportion of women married by the time they are 25 is similar in the two islands. The commonest age at which men are married is 25 in Gozo compared with 22 in Malta. 162 582

MARRIAGE AND FERTILITY

While the proportion of the population which is married is relatively low, the resulting depressing effect on fertility rates is more than neutralised by the early age at which women are married. Crude fertility rates alone form an insufficient basis for detailed demographic analysis. Changes in the sex ratio, in migration, and in marriage rates as well as the underlying socio-economic attitudes to family size all must be examined. 162 582 163

The marriage rate has declined since the early nineteenth century. In 1831-40 it was 8 per 1,000 of the total population, while in 1951-56 it was 6.4, having fallen below 7 in the 1850's and remaining below that level with the exception of the two post-war periods (Fig. 54). Annual variations have followed changes in economic conditions as was the case in the rising marriage rate soon after 1900. Plagues, epidemics and wars have generally been followed by a sharp rise, as was the case after World War II.

A high marriage rate, maintained for several years, is generally an indication of prosperity. This was so in the first five years of the present century, while the depression which culminated in the arrival of the Royal Commission in 1911 was accompanied by a fall to less than 5 per 1,000. The high marriage rate of the years immediately following the Second World War soon fell away, but since 1950 there has been an unexpected recovery which has not been matched by a comparable rise in the number of births.

It is possible to assess the fertility of the population by a comparison of the Censuses with Vital Statistics and by relating the number of births either to the number of women of childbearing age (crude fertility rate) or to the number of married women of childbearing age (nuptial fertility rate). Crude and nuptial fertilities are shown in Fig. 57 and in both cases comparisons made with British and Australian equivalents. It will be seen that, in the Maltese Islands, between 1881 and 1948 the crude fertility rate only fell below 130 once (in 1931) and generally fluctuated between 140 and 170. In 1948 it was 175, the second highest figure recorded, but by 1950 it had declined to 130 despite a slight increase in the marriage rate. This would seem to indicate that nuptial fertility is now on the decline, though this cannot be demonstrated statistically.

The comparison of nuptial fertility rates is more valid than that of crude rates since it makes allowances for differences in the marriage rates between various countries. By this type of assessment, the outstandingly high fertility of the Maltese population is even more strongly emphasised. Only once, in 1931, 163

[Text Continues on P. 157]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

and Kalafrana have also been centres of inward movement, and moreover have a higher than average proportion of skilled labour associated with Naval stations. The last region, that of suburban Malta stretching from Tarxien to St. Andrew's, is an area of transit to some extent, an area of urban and relatively mobile life, and as such is the type of region from which on *a priori* grounds one would expect high rates of exodus. 167

In some ways more noteworthy, and of particular direct interest in association with other of our findings, is the relative immobility in Central Malta, that belt of country stretching from Fomm ir-Rieh, across the Mdina-Rabat Uplands, across the long-settled good farmlands of the Central Region eastwards to St. Thomas' Bay. In this heart of old rural Malta, least directly affected by the changes characteristic of the last four centuries, the extreme course of emigration makes the least appeal.

POPULATION INCREASE IN RELATION TO RESOURCES

Between 1842 and 1905 the population of the Islands increased by 86,000 from 113,864. By 1947 it had grown by a further 100,000, an increase of 50 per cent. in 42 years. During the last decade the rate of increase has considerably diminished. 161 168

Behind this bare statement lie a number of important facts. We know that the rate of increase before the date of the first census was very high, extremely so when we remember the incidence of disease and corsair raids. As noted on p. 136 the rate of increase in the island of Malta during the rule of the Order was greater than that of Gozo during the last century. Moreover, it is probable that for some three or four centuries previous to the arrival of the Knights the rate of increase was comparable to those of the later periods.

It seems likely, therefore, that for perhaps 800 years, the Maltese population has increased at a fairly consistent and high rate up to 1947 (see too Section IV). It also seems probable that net emigration, although regionally variable, did little to relieve the steadily growing pressure on resource. We know, for instance, that of the total loss by migration of 67,000 between 1842 and 1956, 43,000 left after 1919. We also know that crude mortality rates dropped but slowly before 1943 and that infantile death rates declined markedly only after this decade. There is therefore no obvious vital revolution, no sudden upsurge in numbers, no simple formula, to be invoked in the explanation of the growth in Malta's population.

From a consideration of the demographic history of the Islands, in terms of political, economic and cultural changes and against the background of the landscape palimpsest, one is forced to strange conclusions, viz, that the concepts of 'over-population' or 'optimum population' have no historically valid meaning in a Maltese context. As we have seen in earlier chapters, there has always been considerable Island contact with neighbouring lands. During the period for which we have any historical record a great part of the wealth on which Malta has lived has come from outside. The historical sequence of population growth appears in Micawberish terms: something has always turned up, either a new external valuation or a new possibility of marginally increasing resource wealth, in time to prevent real 'over-population' appearing. This hypothesis is considered more fully in the concluding section but it is worth noting here that each historical conquest has *ipso facto* been made by an increasingly world-conscious power, by a more enterprising society, and each has led to the creation of wider opportunities for the gaining of wealth. Similarly, each intervening period of doldrums has been marked by improved ability to intensify the exploitation of internal resource, generally in the agricultural sector. Thus, in the eighteenth century the cotton boom, in the mid-nineteenth century livestock improvement and land reclamation, in the twentieth century modernised irrigation and dairy-farming, and more recently horticulture and the search for oil.

Up to the present time fortune has smiled and there has been no fall in living standards as might be expected in consequence of extreme over-population. Yet, during historical times at least, the population has always been too great for self-sufficiency and in this sense has always been over-large. The rather

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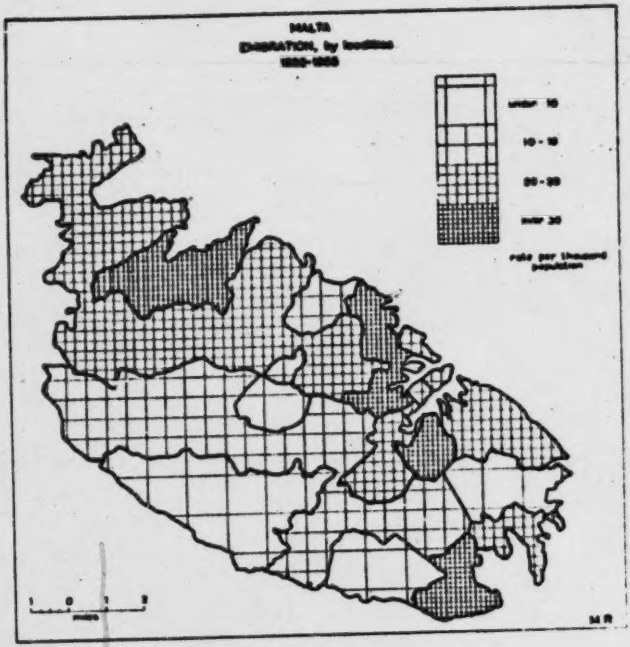

Fig. 63 Emigration by Localities, 1952-55.

161 puzzled note made by the Royal Commissioners of 1911 would seem to be
168 applicable to the whole of our period: 'We cannot but conclude that the Maltese people as a whole are by no means a destitute population seeing that they continue to absorb and pay for imports of considerable value over and above those which may be said to be paid for by the exportation of the products of the Islands' (30).

The obvious question of whether this process has now reached its limit is bound up with our analysis of the contemporary situation. For a decade or so, there has been a substantial overspill of population in emigration and the birth rate has declined, (p. 153). The present apparent equilibrium is however most unstable. The rate of emigration itself is only to a limited extent controlled by [167] economic forces and is bound to fluctuate. If the 1948-56 rate of natural increase were maintained and emigration discontinued, the total population of the Islands would leap up another 100,000 over the 1947 level to 400,000 by 1968. Moreover and as noted on p. 157 the nuptial fertility rates reveal that the rate of natural increase could rise even higher than at present if the indirect effects of emigration disappeared. To what circumstances can the concept of a population optimum be referred? Quite obviously the term has no relevance either to the known past or hypothetical future in that historical experience has so conditioned Maltese attitudes the even now there seems general confidence that a continued population inflation can be maintained.

168 Demographically considered these are facts of observation; socially and economically they are the factual basis on which future policies must be based.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

economic structure due to a British policy which in the past was almost entirely based on her own military needs constitutes an unanswerable case for adequate help to the Islands in their present effort' find alternative sources of employment'. From the factual point of view this last statement needs qualification, while in so far as it is representative in a mild way of an attitude which more violently would throw the whole onus of guaranteeing the future on to Britain it is dangerous. In the first place, as the various studies in this book indicate, Maltese economic dependence on the value placed on the islands by non-Maltese communities, necessarily in the light of their own needs, is of great antiquity. The only way in which Britain could have refrained from increasing this dependence would have been by positively encouraging social and economic stagnation outside a small Garrison pale. This leads to the second point that the indigenous population rapidly seized opportunities to rise above the low level of life possible on local non-locational resources. The development of the present economy is as much due to natural indigenous economic desires as to outside pressure. Thirdly, as noted in the Introduction, recent confusion of attitudes towards political subordination and social welfare as well as to production, has produced a general realisation of the problem, without producing any clear solutions. Indeed the implications of the suggested solutions have been met with natural but rather irrational repugnance. Finally, we may observe that the use of phrases such as 'alternative sources of employment' when what is really meant is 'alternative sources of wealth', must always darken counsel. Once again the need for realistic appraisal of natural resources becomes manifest.

The most up-to-date picture of the Islands' general economy may be derived from the 1958 Departmental reports published late in 1959 and 1960. In December 1958 the total population numbered almost 324,000, that of Malta having increased by 5 per cent. since 1948 in spite of emigration while that of Gozo declined by 0.4 per cent. as a result of emigration. The internal shifts of population that occurred during and after World War II have virtually ceased. The gainfully occupied population totalled 88,710, and less than 5 per cent. of the total male population aged 14-64 were not productively occupied. 25.4 per cent. of male workers were Government employees and paid out of Government revenue. 33.5 per cent. of the employed population worked in or for the Service Departments, deriving their income directly or indirectly from the Imperial Government. Thus, only 42 per cent. of the working population is employed in normal civilian activity and, as already noted, most of this activity is generated by indirect Imperial expenditure. In 1958 the gross national product had increased to £42.4 millions but the visible trade deficit also rose to £25.2 millions.

To conclude this section we turn by way of illustration from the general to the particular, to a brief consideration of two of the facets of Maltese life investigated by our team of research workers.

Her Majesty's Dockyard in Malta, for so long the crux of British interest in the Islands, has recently been transferred to civilian interests amidst a welter of differing reactions. Thanks to the co-operation of the Admiral Superintendent and his staff in March 1957 we have been able to analyse the main characteristics of the Dockyard, and present here a few of the relevant findings. At that time, 12,572 Maltese workers were directly employed in the Dockyard, almost exactly the same number as the total of farmholders, or the total engaged in 'industrial' occupations, i.e. mining, quarrying, manufacturing and construction. In the Dockyard there were four departments, those of the Captain, Construction, Engineering, and Electrical Engineering, which were regarded as 'professional departments'. These employed 59 per cent. of the total Dockyard employees, most of this proportion in skilled trades. In the remaining 11 departments, a considerable number of technicians and craftsmen were also employed as well as upper-grade administrative and financial personnel. The Dockyard thus contained the largest pool of skilled labour in the Islands and provided the most important training ground, because, of the roughly equal numbers in civil 'industrial' employment, a very much larger proportion was unskilled, particularly in the building industry (18).

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

the glaring skies. This stone, so characteristic of Malta, provides a gradual transition from the open country to the compact, densely populated communities in which the people live.

II

In 1960, just under 329,000 people lived on the islands' 122 square miles. This makes the Maltese archipelago, with a population density of 2,700 per square mile, one of the most thickly populated countries in the world. Slightly over half the population live in the urban area which centres on Valletta and the Grand Harbour. The rest, and the part with which this study is concerned, live in clearly separated villages and towns outside the conurbation. The population of Gozo is 28,000, and that of Comino 30.

The pressure of a numerous and fertile population on a very limited area has long been one of Malta's most serious problems. The Maltese marry rather early and, in the past, have been encouraged by the clergy and public opinion to have large families. But the Church in Malta has finally and officially recognized the problem, and recently opened a medical advisory service for married couples. During the period 1957–60, births averaged 8,600 per annum and deaths 2,820, thus the natural annual increase was about 5,780. As the net emigration during this period was 2,170 annually, the total population increased at an annual rate of approximately 3,610. Emigration, however, has taken off many of the young men and left a surplus of females. In 1960 there were 747 men between the ages of 20 and 34 for every 1,000 women in the same age group.[1]

III

Malta's documented history stretches back over a thousand years. The summary of it given here makes no pretence of originality. With but few exceptions, it is based upon the well-known published sources listed in the Bibliography. My sole object is to enable the reader to see the present political system in its historical perspective.

Throughout history, Malta has been subject to many different

[1] *Statistical Abstract of the Maltese Islands*, 1960 (Valletta, Central Office of Statistics, 1961). C, pp. 2–5.

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

The fortified towns and suburbs, apart from Rabato, form a practically continuous inhabited area. The population, especially in the suburbs, is extremely overcrowded. The country villages are irregularly built along a series of winding lanes, which converge on an open space not infrequently situated in front of the village church. In a corner of such a *piazza* there is usually a café, and it is here that the majority of measurements of the country people were taken, very often as the men came out of Mass on Sunday. Some of the villages have orange gardens, wherever there is sufficient water to spare for irrigation purposes.

Although with modern means of transport it is possible to visit practically the whole island in one day, many of the villages are nearly endogamous, in spite of the absence of geographical boundaries. The men of one village will certainly not seek their wives from a neighbouring village. If they marry outside their own hamlet, it will probably be with a girl from the suburban area. Similarly, many of the town dwellers find wives among the daughters of the country folk. No such distinctions appear to hold in the urban districts. Communications within this latter area are good and cheap, and extensive use of them appears to be made by the whole population.

III.—History.

The ethnological history of the archipelago is not as yet very clear, and further evidence is badly needed. A very interesting cave, usually known as Ghar Dalam, has been excavated by Mr. Despott, to whom I am indebted for permission to examine his finds and his MS. notes. The valley (the Weid Dalam) in which this cave is situated, shows signs of three terraces. The earliest terrace is high above the present level of the stream, which runs on the level of the old second terrace, and the third terrace, on a still lower level, is in most places filled up by *débris*, brought down by the present stream or its immediate predecessor. The second terrace appears to belong to two different periods, as there are in places marks on the rock of undercutting by the swirling of a stream at two very different levels. The river which cut out these terraces must, at least in flood time, have contained a considerable volume of water. The modern stream is, however, even at the wettest time, hardly more than a series of disconnected pools. The Ghar Dalam cave belongs to the earlier part of the second terrace. It contained numerous sherds, mostly Bronze Age. By far the greater part of the cave, however, was filled up with a very large number of bones, the majority of which belonged to a species of pygmy hippopotamus. These bones, and even the teeth, show considerable evidence of attrition by water.

In this fossil bed Mr. Despott claims to have discovered the remains of Neandertal man. All the human remains that have been found consist of very small fragments, and apart from one tooth, there is no evidence to show that these bones really belong to Neandertal man. The tooth is a molar exhibiting unusual characters, but in the absence of X-ray photographs or a section, and comparison with

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

The building of Valletta was begun by La Vallette and continued by subsequent Grand Masters. The majority of the labourers employed appear to have been slaves, although a certain number of men are said to have been imported from Sicily and Calabria. It is difficult to estimate how far an industrial population, which must have amounted to over 8000 men, can have affected the ethnology of the island.

It will be seen, then, that the population of the urban districts, including as it does such a very large proportion of the total inhabitants of the island, is comparatively new to its present surroundings. We have not got in Valletta, as we have in some parts of the Mediterranean, a town site which has been occupied more or less continuously since the dawn of history. We do not know, of course, what was the condition of Mount Sceberras before Valletta was built, but it certainly was not in any way an urban area, the old town having been what is now known as Citta Vecchia.

The subsequent history of the Order is not of great importance from the ethnological point of view. The Knights did not succeed in suppressing the Barbary corsairs, but carried on a number of sea-faring expeditions, especially in the Levant, although during the seventeenth century there were numerous sea battles between the Knights and the corsairs.

During the occupation of the Order, the food supply of Malta was imported from Sicily, and when diplomatic relations were strained between the Order and the King of Spain, shortage of food often became very marked. The relations between the Maltese and the Knights are difficult to sum up briefly. During the earlier days the privileges of the natives were only limited as far as military necessity, and, to a certain extent, financial obligations demanded. In later days the Maltese were employed as labourers, as soldiers, and as sailors, and although we find that in many cases the Grand Masters behaved generously to native women and children, the general record of the Knights, especially in the years before the final crash came, were unworthy of the ideals of an ascetic Order.

The Order ruled the island until the final break-up of the last relics of Mediæval Europe by Napoleon. The French garrison surrendered to the British in 1800, after holding the island for two years. Malta was formally ceded to the British crown in 1814.

IV.—Demography.

It has been suggested that the large number of bones found in the Hypogeum is evidence of a large population in Neolithic times. The place is, however, probably an ossuary, and may have been in use over a long period. The earlier records are for the most part unreliable. In 870, 3000 Greeks are said to have been killed, and 3614 women and 5000 children sold into captivity. This suggests a large population. In 1530 Boisgelin's figure (23) is 15,000, but Miège (27) suggests a population of 20,659. After the attack of the Turks in 1566, the total is said to have dropped to 10,000. The emissary of Pope Gregory XIII reported the

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

population as 20,000 in 1582. In 1632, 50,113 is given, and in 1667, 53,000. In 1741, 110,000 is the population, which is said to have increased to 114,000 in 1798. The figures for Malta and Gozo in 1826 are stated to be 119,736. But the first reliable figure is 115,945 in 1828. In 1881 the population was 132,129 in Malta and 17,653 in Gozo; in 1901, 184,742, and 1911, 211,564.

In regard to the proportion of the sexes there were in 1911 110 bachelors to 100 spinsters, 98 husbands to 100 wives, and 44 widowers to 100 widows. In round thousands, the males over 5 years of age were engaged in the following occupations: 7 in professional, 2 domestic, 19 commercial, 12 agricultural, 21 industrial, and 31 were unproductive and unoccupied; the last figure is rather misleading as it includes at least four separate classes—children, aged, people of independent income, and incapables of all classes. The data in regard to foreigners is the most interesting for our purpose, as it gives an insight into the amount of mixture that is taking place. There were at the last census (1911) (31) 854 ♂ and 1,003 ♀ foreigners in the island. Of these 3 ♀ were English, the remainder were made up as follows: 77 ♂ and 45 ♀ from Africa (apart from 1 ♂ and 2 ♀, all these came from Egypt, Tripoli, Tunis and Algeria); 479 ♂ and 499 ♀ from Sicily; 156 ♂ and 253 ♀ from other parts of Italy; 36 ♂ and 39 ♀ came from Greece, and 11 ♂ were classified as Asiatics. This does not, of course, include the garrison, a large floating population of which the figures are uncertain, as they depend so much on the ships which happen to be in harbour at the time when the census is taken. The increase of population between 1828 and 1911 is of interest. That of Malta increased by 88·25 per cent. of the total, and that of Gozo by 45·31 per cent. The increase in Malta was nearly five times as great in the suburban area as in the other areas combined.[1]

The density per square mile in 1911 was 1884 (Malta 2167, and Gozo 879). The density in the south-east corner of Malta is, however, greater than would appear from these figures. If the island be divided along a line west of Gargur, Naxaro, Musta, Notabile, Rabato, Crendi, the areas east and west of such a line would be almost equal in size. The eastern area, however, contained in 1911 183,132 inhabitants, and the western 5737. Practically all the Neolithic remains occur in the eastern area, suggesting that the centres of population have not changed appreciably since Neolithic times.

V.—Material and Methods.

The skeletal material examined is conveniently grouped in four series: (i) Bones from the Hypogæum at Hal Saflieni (Malta Local Neolithic); (ii) Miscellaneous ancient skeletons, chiefly Romano-Maltese; (iii) Specimens from the Chapel of Bones (Late Mediæval); (iv) Modern bones. Only in case (ii) were any complete skeletons available.

[1] Since this article was written the results of the Census of 1921 have become available. They are as follows:—Malta, 180,697 (92,127 ♂, 97,570 ♀); Gozo, 22,561 (10,618 ♂, 11,943 ♀). Total for the two islands, 212,258, an increase of only 694 since 1911, as against 26,822 in the previous decade.

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

The stay of the French in the island was too short to have any effect on the population. A social barrier has been built up between the British and the people of the land, and the general impression gained is that, though there are a certain number of mixed marriages, there cannot, even after three generations of a large, if floating, British element in Valletta, be more than a very thin British strain in the population.

We have shown, in dealing with the history of the island, how extremely difficult it is to account for the wholesale immigration of an Armenoid-like population at any period. We have also shown how, in spite of the continual immigration of people of the Mediterranean stock, the Maltese type (*i.e.* Malta second race, displaying Armenoid characters) appears to have persisted for a long period. It would seem, therefore, a point worthy of further consideration, whether the development of the Maltese along the lines they appear to have followed may not be due to certain definite geographical factors of whose influence we are as yet unaware. It is possible that if we had at our disposal a long unbroken series, instead of larger or smaller series from Neolithic, Mediæval, and modern ossuaries, we should not find such striking contrasts as we do at present. Anthropological data from various parts of the Mediterranean show that there is very often a significant difference between two villages in different valleys of the same mountain range. It is possible that even the few generations which have elapsed between the building of Hal Tarxien and 1921 may be the equivalent, in time, of such a journey in space, and certain big changes may have taken place owing to changing geographical conditions. There can be little doubt that the climate of Malta has changed very much, not only since the first terrace was cut in the Weid Dalam, but even since the formation of the second terrace. We have also suggested that the evidence from Professor Zammit's excavations at Hal Tarxien hints at a change in climate since Neolithic times. The change in the structure of the population may be due, therefore, partly to geographical as well as to historical causes.

Whether or no the development of the Maltese sub-race is due to particular geographical conditions, there can be little doubt that, in Malta at least, the strain is biologically remarkably successful and extremely fertile. In spite of the high infant mortality which has existed in the past, they have continued to increase, and the modern developments of hygiene and the care of infants are likely to make the increase still more rapid. If the overcrowding continues, in a comparatively short time we shall be faced with conditions in the island which would appear to be, biologically speaking, unsatisfactory. Sanitary conditions can be improved, food can be imported, but excessive overcrowding may bring its own remedy, either in disease or in a diminished fertility. The present fertility is quite possibly due to some underlying climatic condition. In spite of lack of water, Malta has long been extremely fertile botanically, and was famed for this in classical times. The Maltese goats, by far the most abundant large mammal of the island apart from

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

man, are also unusually fertile, and the females possess remarkably developed udders. Possibly similar causes make both man and the goats fertile. If this is so, emigrants from the island will probably, after a short time, lose their fertility,[1] whilst the only limiting factors on the island itself will be space and the food and water supply.

Summarizing our general conclusions, the race in Malta which is associated with the period of great megalithic buildings—a cultural stage we have termed "Malta Local Neolithic"—appears to be closely akin to the Mediterranean race. This is our "Malta first race." At a later date, possibly towards the end of the Bronze Age, but more probably during the Early Iron Age, Malta was peopled by a race with different characteristics, our "Malta second race." These people are of Armenoid type, but probably have an admixture of Mediterranean blood. Their origin appears to be the Eastern Mediterranean. They may have come to Malta either directly or by way of Carthage. They may have destroyed the previous inhabitants, or they may merely have pursued methods of peaceful penetration. This race has firmly established itself in Malta, and all subsequent introduction of foreign blood has failed to raise the variation. During the course of years certain changes have taken place; there are also certain local variations, but the differences between Malta and Gozo are not greater than the differences between the general population of Malta and at least one, and possibly more, of the more isolated villages.

APPENDIX I.

LITERATURE.

In writing this paper the following authorities have been consulted. Where specific reference is made, the number is given in brackets in the text.

II.—GEOGRAPHY.

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[1] Of interest in this connection is the fact that there is at present a Maltese colony in Detroit, U.S.A., and it will be instructive to observe whether, amid alien surroundings, the strain is able to perpetuate itself and to retain its fertility.

SECTION 1 : The Village in Maltese Rural Society.

121 369 Despite the small size of the Maltese Islands, the physical units in which the people live - the towns and villages (Map 1) - possess diverse characteristics. Sometimes administrative, sometimes morphological (i.e. pertaining to the physical arrangement of functional parts), these provide important evidence of the social and economic nature of society. The present report is concerned with rural society and with farming in the Islands where it is clear that the 'village' both reflects and shapes the character of the farmer. The historical evolution of the settlements cannot be examined here but a brief mention must be made of some important historical facts.

175 369 [361] [396] During their rule in Malta, from 1530 to 1798, the Knights of St. John built Valletta (after 1575) and founded an associated dockyard and surrounding towns. These creations have since expanded and merged to become the nucleus of modern Urban Malta. Before 1530, urban society had existed only in the capital, Notabile (Mdina)[1], and in a few large town-villages, none of which lay on the coast or adjoined the Grand Harbour. Nearly the whole of Malta and Gozo had been previously rural in that the population depended on a subsistence, peasant agriculture, with alternative employment existing only in the larger settlements or in the little harbour at the Borgo (Cospicua). Under the Knights, Valletta on the coast succeeded Notabile in the centre of the Island as capital; and the large town-villages (by pre-1530 standards) of Żebbuġ, Siġġiewi, Żejtun, and Żurrieq declined in relative importance.

[241] [464] Little change otherwise occurred until the century and a half of British rule during which the Valletta nucleus and associated townships became dominant and the increase in the population accelerated[2]. The national economy became overwhelmingly dependent on the naval and commercial dockyards in the first place and, later, on the army and air-force bases[3]. Thus the old rural settlements became relatively if not absolutely of little importance.

RURAL SOCIETY

369 241 433 It is reasonable to talk of the farming communities as being synonomous with 'rural' settlements in Malta but the position demands more precise definition. Certainly the largest part of the Maltese rural-dwelling population has been based on agriculture - whether the peasant subsistence of the past or the commercial farming of today. Peasant subsistence farming in small-holding units, supplying almost all the needs of the family working the farm, is a type of farming in which money plays little or no part. It has faded very rapidly

6: Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

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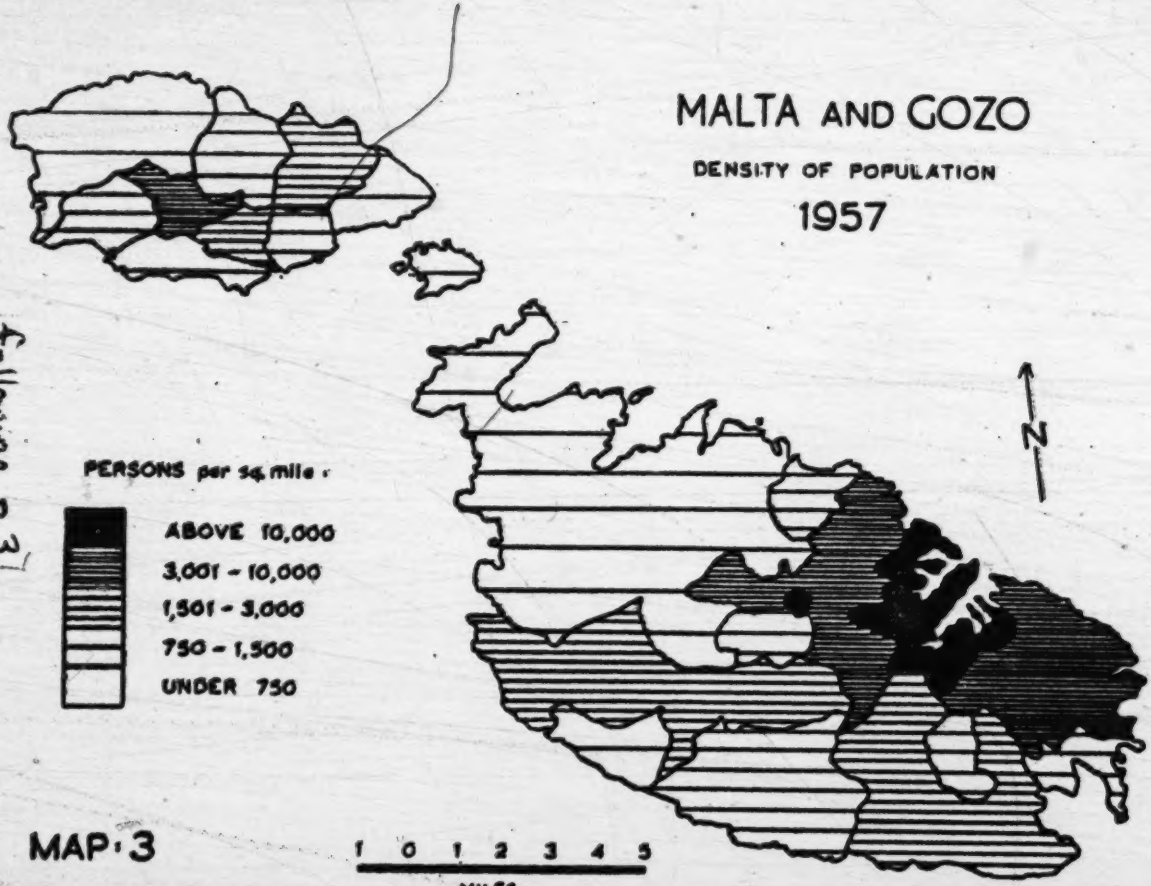

MAP: 3

[following p. 3]

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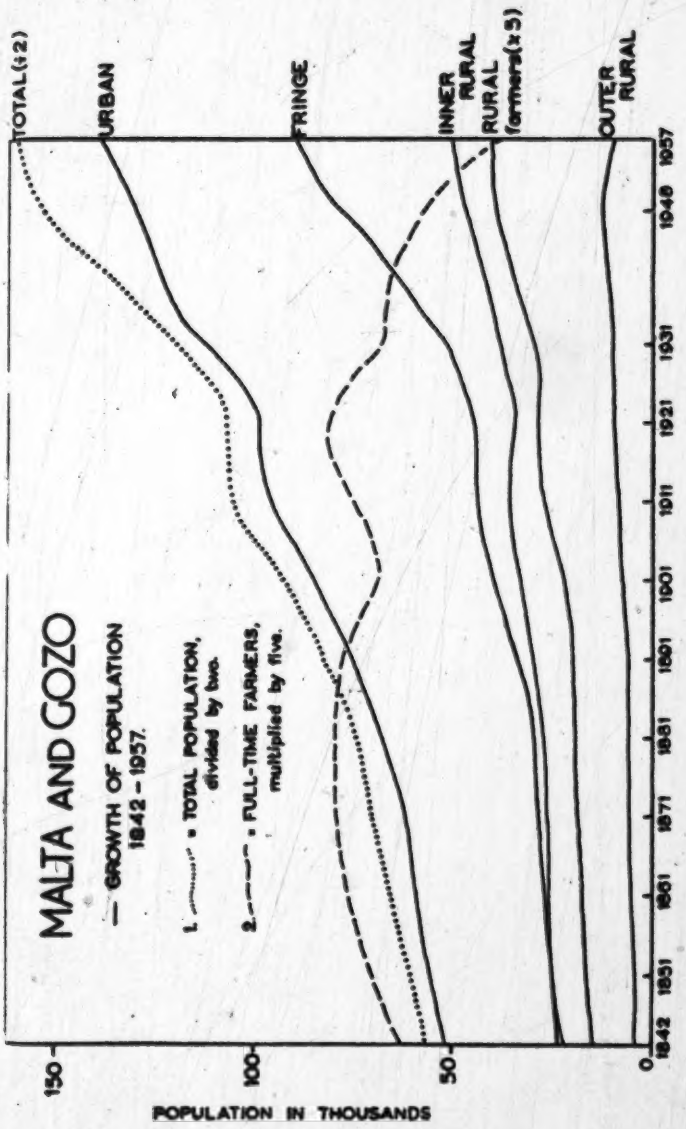

[following p. 72]

SECTION 6 : Appendices

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APPENDIX 1 A : POPULATION

YEAR	All Islands	Malta	Zone	Urban	Fringe	Inner Rural	Rural	Outer Rural
1957	319,620	292,019	27,601	135,390	83,898	50,002	40,438	10,892
1948	305,991	278,311	27,680	129,153	78,432	48,766	39,405	12,175
1931	241,621	217,784	23,837	114,196	51,387	38,780	29,502	9,776
1921	212,258	189,697	22,561	98,089	44,114	34,166	26,677	9,052
1911	211,564	188,869	22,695	96,147	43,902	36,346	28,898	8,572
1901	184,742	164,952	19,790	84,429	38,111	32,276	22,614	7,312
1891	165,037	146,484	18,553	75,377	33,142	30,012	20,521	5,985
1881	149,782	132,129	17,653	68,476	29,386	27,837	18,182	5,861
1871	140,883	123,492	17,391	61,782	28,567	26,719	18,020	5,795
1861	132,956	117,497	15,459	58,788	27,197	25,289	16,483	5,189
1851	123,496	108,833	14,663	54,885	24,800	24,200	15,650	3,661
1842	113,884	99,522	14,342	51,487	21,923	22,183	14,438	3,853
1828	114,236	98,618	15,618	-	-	-	-	-
1807	93,054	80,225	12,829	-	-	-	-	-
1741	15,032	13,309	1,723	-	-	-	-	-
1632	52,900	49,900	3,000	-	-	-	-	-
1530	29,659	25,000	4,691	-	-	-	-	-

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Sources : 1957 - R/168
1851 to 1948 (inc.) - R/167
1842 - R/166
1828 (estimate) - R/516, Vol.1, p.151
1807 (estimate) - R/86
1741 (estimate) - v.R/167 (1681, p.2)
1632 (estimate) - R/383, Vol.1, Chapter 8
1530 (estimate) - R/516, Vol.1, p.151 (after R/334)

Notes : (i) 1957 population figures by census localities (R/168) are given in Appendix 3.

(ii) See R/166, 167, and 168, for full statistics since 1842; see also R/581 for detailed analysis of population changes.

(iii) Some of the information in the above table is given in graph form.

(iv) See Map 3 for Population Density by Localities, 1957.

[P.180]

APPENDIX 3 : THE BUILT-UP AREA

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"A Township is the definite urban-type built-up nucleus of a census locality" (v. B/168, p.38). On this basis the 'township' area and population within each census locality may be distinguished:

CENSUS LOCALITIES	LOCALITIES: LAND AREA, sq. miles A	LOCALITIES: POPULATION. B	"TOWNSHIPS": LAND AREA, as % of A.	"TOWNSHIPS": POPULATION. as % of B.
Valletta	0.281	18,202	100	100
Cospicua	0.241	9,085	100	100
Senglea	0.057	5,065	100	100
Vittoriosa	0.205	4,242	100	100
Gżira	0.411	8,545	38.9	99.3
Sliema	0.485	23,399	100	100
Floriana	0.341	5,811	100	100
Żabbar	1.086	11,424	24.6	100
Marsa	0.883	10,672	38.6	100
Hamrun	0.380	16,895	73.1	100
Msida	0.368	6,587	53.3	98.9
Kalkara	0.471	2,101	28.9	92.9
Pieta	0.200	4,076	78.5	100
St. Julians	1,635	8,285	17.9	70.8
Balzan	0.236	2,734	68.6	100
Luqa	1.812	5,382	5.8	91.2
Birkirkara	2.736	16,987	15.2	90.5
Tarxien	0.850	7,708	12.5	56.2
St. Venera	0.415	5,246	34.9	75.1
Qormi	2.412	14,089	9.9	95.6
Birlebbuġa	2.994	5,297	4.7	88.1
Żabbar & M'skala	3.255	11,883	9.5	61.3
Żejtun	3.777	11,985	5.9	87.2
Lija	0.547	2,119	24.1	98.3
Mqabba	1.242	2,086	5	97.5
Kirkop	1.952	1,469	1.9	92.9
Żurrieq	3.536	6,837	4.3	92.8
Ghaxaq	1.121	2,830	6.8	96.5
Attard	2.090	2,863	7.2	97.2
Victoria	1.835	6,357	19.8	97
Mdina	2.473	823	1.1	100
Mosta	1.900	7,377	14	97.9
Żebbuġ	3.167	7,989	10.2	99.7
Ghajnsielem	1.414	1,830	6.9	96
Gudja	1.709	1,712	2.8	97.4
Qrendi	2.587	2,155	3.2	97.7
Kirkop	0.717	1,204	8.3	100
Naxxar	6.538	4,688	2.7	83
Rabat	8.048	12,792	2.9	82
Xewkija	1.288	3,281	12.9	99.9
Gharghur	2.023	1,813	2	87.3
Mellieha	7.808	4,290	0.9	71.9
Siġġiewi	6.230	5,055	2.4	96.4
Sannat & Nadur	2.187	1,856	4.9	99.6
Nadur	2.487	4,136	7.8	96.7
Safi	0.447	709	10.1	97.7
Dingli	3.674	2,041	1.7	68.6
Qala	2.218	1,816	3.8	95.8
St. Paul's Bay	5.620	3,040	2.1	72.5
Kerċem & St.Lucia	2.442	1,272	4	100
Xagħra	4.854	4,056	5.8	87.9
Gharb	2.043	1,289	2.2	67.3
San Lawrenz	1.355	428	3.4	89.2
Żebbuġ	2.775	1,199	4.4	95.1
Mġarr	5.856	2,187	0.8	31.2
Ghasri	1.423	471	3	41.2
Comino	1.075	30	0	0
Maltese Islands	121.850	319,020	7.6	91.1
Malta	98.878	292,019	8	90.9
Gozo	28.974	27,001	5.9	85.6

NB: - Information from B/168. Table P IIIb).

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

desperately to drive out the Knights of S. John as over forty years previously he had driven them out of Rhodes. But he was now concerned with a wider issue than that of blunting once more that spearhead of the Church militant: he had grasped the point that Malta as his advanced naval base would make him the master of the entire Mediterranean. Even more fully, and for a short time successfully, was the point grasped by Bonaparte, who saw in Malta not only the naval base indispensable to the command of the Mediterranean but a vital link in the route to a farther East than Phœnician or Roman had known. Thereafter neither William II nor the Axis dictators had anything fresh to learn on the subject. Malta's strategic rôle had become a postulate.

3

At the beginning of 1959 the Maltese archipelago had an estimated population, formidable for its size, of 323,629 souls (exclusive of the personnel of the armed Services), to which Gozo contributed 27,846 and little Comino 30. That is to say that it contains close on 2700 people to the square mile, which makes it one of the most densely populated geographical units in the world. The figure would have been higher but for considerable post-war emigration to Australia and elsewhere. But if, even so, it is high when measured by the area of 121 square miles[1] on which it has to live, it is small for a separate nation. For the Maltese are a nation unto themselves, with their own language, their own traditions, their own physical characteristics and a history that is one of the longest to which any existing people can lay claim.

For some reason hitherto unexplained it was in Malta and Gozo that the art of building in remote Stone Age days reached a development of skill and refinement unknown in other centres of the megalithic and neolithic worlds. Malta was already, therefore, an ancient centre of civilization when

[1] *I.e.*, about five-sixths of the area of the Isle of Wight.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

sometimes regarded in England—in other words, as hard-headed folk whom nothing will keep out of the best jobs. It is certainly true to say that, loth as they may be to leave their own little island, when they do it is definitely to better themselves. They make excellent colonists in Australia and elsewhere in the New World, while those who emigrate no farther than Malta frequently attain distinction. The story is told of a function in S. John's Co-Cathedral in Valetta at a time, not so many years ago, when the Gozitans who were leading personages in Church and State included the Archbishop of Malta, Mgr Pace.

"Well," said a Maltese worshipper, after watching the entry into the church of the procession of Archbishop and Canons and other dignitaries, mostly (or so it seemed to him) natives of the junior island, "I suppose we ought to be thankful that the sacristan is still a Maltese."

Byron may have had something similar in mind when he bracketed Malta with Gozo as

> Calypso's isles,
> The sister tenants of the middle deep,

instead of describing them as mother and daughter.

There is much to see in this small island of 27 square miles and as many thousand inhabitants besides natural scenery and the monuments alluded to above. Let me instance some characteristic features of various widely different epochs of Gozo's long history. First must come the twin Stone Age temples of Ggantija, through their cyclopean construction—one block has the formidable dimensions of 12½ by 17½ feet—the most stupendous work of Neolithic man in the Maltese archipelago. Farther excavation by the Malta Museum is planned on and around their site when funds permit, and more wonders may yet come to light. Meanwhile the visitor may enjoy from one of the most impressive architectural survivals of remote antiquity a comprehensive view of Gozo and of the north-western end of Malta, with